



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL AND THE AFRICAN CRUSADE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

AMONG the men who prepare the Catholic civilization of the later Middle Ages for that oversea expansion which marks the opening of the modern world, the figure of Prince Henry of Portugal is of commanding importance.¹ The Infant Dom Henrique is, in his measure, one of the central characters of history: to his work of revival and reorganization may be traced back some of the most valuable lines of modern progress, a large part of what is distinctively modern life; in his person, policy, and achievements is concentrated much of what we prize to-day.

Of Dom Henrique, his labors and his aims, we have no such comparatively adequate knowledge, no such authoritative, many-sided, illuminating portraiture as of some other men, some other movements, of less importance and of remoter time. His documents are few: he has left the world no private letters, no formal Apologia, no Memoirs or Recollections, no personal declaration of any sort, worthy of the name, with the exception of his Last Will and Testament,² and of certain statements in certain charters. His biographers, the chroniclers of his explorations, men of limited, sometimes perverted, intelligence, scarcely appear to understand him fully. To a deplorable extent his ideas and policy, to a less degree his actions, must remain obscure. But we know enough to see that he comes at a critical time and plays a decisive

¹ In this paper the following abbreviations are used: "Azurara, Guinea", for G. E. de Azurara's *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné*, edited by Carreira and Santarem (Paris, 1841); "Gomes", for Dr. Schmeller's edition of the text of Diogo Gomes, *De Prima Inventione Guineae*, and *De Insulis primo inventis in Mari Oceano Occidentis* in the *Proceedings of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences*, March 8, 1845 (*Abhandl. d. I. Cl. d. K. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Bd. IV., Abth. III. (A)), especially pp. 17-41; "Alguns Documentos", for *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo ácerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas* (Lisbon, 1892); "Bullarium", for the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, edited by Levy Maria Jordão, vol. I. (Lisbon, 1868).

² This is to be found (a) in the collection of Pedro Alvares, MSS. da Bibliotheca Nacional, Lisbon, vol. III., ff. 42 v., etc.; (b) in vol. 516 of the library of the Torre do Tombo, pp. 1-13 (an almost contemporary manuscript, written before the end of the fifteenth century). It is printed, e. g., in *Archivo dos Açores*, vol. I. (1878), pp. 331-336, and in the Marquez de Souza Holstein's *A Escola de Sagres e as Tradições do Infante D. Henrique (Conferencias Celebradas na Acad. Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, ácerca dos Descobrimentos . . . dos Portuguezes na Africa*, 1877), p. 81, etc.

part. He appears in an age when the West European world is suffering from failure and exhaustion; he renders vital service to that civilization from which have sprung the progressive states, the universal commerce, the liberal society, the humanized and open-eyed intelligence, of modern life.

At the close of the fourteenth century, the external energies of the Catholic nations, which had already experienced so remarkable a development, seem to a great extent paralyzed. To Prince Henry, above all men, is due the revival of those energies which makes the fifteenth century so memorable. Western Christendom, Western civilization, must not forget the silent, thoughtful, untiring leader who restored its fortunes—"unus homo nobis *scrutando* restituit rem." It is he who gives continuity, permanence, and final success to the feeble and decadent movement of oceanic discovery; it is he who starts again, with so different a result, that search for the Indo-African waterway which the Genoese of 1291 had begun. With him commences the effective participation of the centralized, monarchical, Christian states (the larger unities which now supersede the city republics and feudal principalities of earlier time) in that colonial, commercial, and crusading expansion whose burden had hitherto rested partly on volunteer adventurers, partly on the great mercantile communities. The Portuguese Infant makes his nation the pioneer of Europe in its final conquest, by maritime paths, of the outer world.

In Dom Henrique's movement, it is true, we may distinguish various elements, but among these no one perhaps is so important, in the view of his own age, as the crusading. After five hundred years of conflict the Christian states of Spain had finally got the better of the Mussulman in the thirteenth century; now, in the lifetime and mainly through the leadership of the Infant, the activity of this crusade is transferred to that Africa from which Spanish Islam had drawn its strength. To the average Spanish Christian of this age (and how much more to the governor of the Order of Christ?)³ there was hardly any higher duty or more valued privilege

³ As Souza Holstein points out, Prince Henry was technically "ruler and governor", not grand master, of the order. He became "regedor e governador" on the death of Lopo Dias de Sousa in 1418, and held the office for the rest of his life (42 years). But he was never professed, and retained his rights of private property and bequest, as authorized by Pope Eugenius IV. in 1442 (Manuscript Collection of Pedro Alvares, III. 13). His control of the revenues of the order was of great importance to his schemes, and he repaid his debt by lavish grants and costly buildings, as at Thomar, where he constructed a new choir, chapter-house, cloister, and tower, for the mother-house of the brotherhood. "Começou esta conquista [of Guinea] a custa e despeza dos bens e rendas d'esta Ordem", says Pedro Alvares, who as *cartorario* of the order under

than that of carrying on this secular struggle of the Faith, of ensuring a still more complete victory for Christendom. While Prince Henry was still a child, and apparently before the French descent of 1402 on the Canaries, the war-ships of Portugal, sailing against the Saracens to Africa, are said to have made a Portuguese re-discovery of the northernmost of the Canaries, the first Atlantic colony of Europeans in the thirteenth century—Lanzarote Island.⁴

Prince Henry's public life opens with the Ceuta expedition of 1415, of which the "heavens felt the glory, and the earth the benefit";⁵ and among all the enterprises of European states in the later Middle Ages no single one had a more marked crusading character. The appointment of a bishop to the new conquest, the conversion of its great mosque into a cathedral, its defense against the Muslim *jihad* of 1418, are all incidents of crusading as well as of national expansion. And the same may of course be said of the Infant's plan of seizing Muslim Gibraltar, only frustrated by stormy weather; of the Moorish prizes captured by his ships at various times, and the descents effected by this navy on the coasts of Barbary and Granada; of the Tangier disaster of 1437; and of the capture of Alcacer the Little, and the other successes of the Morocco campaigns of 1457-1459.⁶

King Manuel re-edited its statutes, and whose collections (in five volumes) are so valuable for the history of Dom Henrique throughout. See Pedro Alvares's collection, III, 1 v., V. 194 v.; Souza Holstein, *Escola de Sagres*, pp. 50-51, 55, 74-75, 78.

"Audivi ego Dioguo Gomez de Sintria quod quaedam caravelae de armata regis Johannis Portugalliae, quae iverant contra Saracenos ad Africam cum vento contrario . . . cucurrerant et viderunt quasdam insulas. Qui . . . iverunt ad . . . unam quae nunc vocatur *Lançarote*, et invenerunt eam non populatam. Et putabant omnes alias insulas esse non populas. Cessante . . . tormento venerunt Portugalliam narrantes haec regi." Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 34.

So Henrique's first recorded armada ("armata", Gomes, p. 18), that under João de Trasto in 1415, accomplished a conquest of the "Telli" (Fertile) district of Grand Canary (Gomes, p. 19, "per vim accepit partem . . . insulae . . . Gran Canaria . . . quae dicebatur . . . *Telli* fructuosa"). Even in 1386 John I. is able to lend the Duke of Lancaster a respectable naval force—six ships and twelve galleys—for the war against Castile (Souza Holstein, *Escola de Sagres*, p. 23; Pinheiro Chagas, *Hist. d. Portugal*, II. 95).

*"Naquella muy honrada conquista . . . sobre a grande cidade de Cepta, de cuja famosa victorya os ceeos sentirom gloria e a terra beneficio". Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. v., p. 25.

*On the see and cathedral of Ceuta, see the bull *Romanus Pontifex*, issued from Constance, April 4, 1417, and addressed to the archbishops of Braga and Lisbon (Arch. Nacional, Coll. de Bullas, maço 11, no. 13), printed in full by Levy Maria Jordão, *Bullarium* (Lisbon, 1868), I. 8; also the bull *Romani Pontificis* of Martin V., issued from Rome, March 5, 1421, and addressed "Aimaro episcopo Ceptensi" (Coll. de Bullas, maço 26, no. 2), printed in full in *Bullarium*, I. 16-17; summarized in *Alguns Documentos* (Lisbon, 1892), p. 1. On the events of 1418, see Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. v., pp. 27-28: "A cidade [Ceuta] livre e repairada [Dom

While the Infant is relieving Ceuta and planning to attack Gibraltar, while his seamen are still working southwards along the Sahara coast, we find Pope Martin V., in 1418, and Pope Eugenius IV., in 1436, calling upon the sovereigns, princes, nobles, and magistrates of Christendom to aid the Portuguese in the extermination of the infidels, to help forward that new crusade which had begun with the conquest of Ceuta.⁷ By the same bulls, all prelates and dignitaries of the Church are commanded to preach this Portuguese enterprise as a crusade and to declare to those who should take part in it the same plenary indulgence accorded to Palestine pilgrims. This appeal by the Universal Bishop to the whole of the Catholic

Henrique] se tornou . . . pera Portugal, nom muy contente . . . porque . . . nom ofereceo o aazo para filhar a villa de Gibaltar [the proper form], como tiinha posto em hordenança, se a principal causa de seu estorvo foe a destemperança do yverno [the winter sea being especially rough near Gibraltar, on account of the currents] . . . por aazo das grandes correntes que ally ha." On Prince Henry's navy and its raids on Barbary and Granada coasts, see *ibid.*, ch. v., pp. 29-30: "Despois que a dicta cidade [Ceuta] foe tomada, continuadamente trouxe navyos armados no mar contra os infiees, os quaaes fezerom muy grande destroyçam na costa daalem e daaquem" [i. e., on both sides of the straits, European and African]. See also *ibid.*, ch. VIII., p. 54, where Azurara notes how Dom Henrique's early maritime expeditions sometimes raided Granada and the Muslim Mediterranean: "huûs hyam sobre a costa de Graada, outros corryam per o mar de Levante, ataa que filhavam grossas presas dos infiees".

As to Tangier, Dom Henrique, commanding at the siege in 1437, found himself in turn besieged by vastly superior Moorish forces, and on October 15 signed a capitulation by which the Portuguese gave up arms, horses, and baggage, embarking for Portugal only with their clothes, as they stood, and undertaking (a) to surrender Ceuta, (b) to keep peace with Barbary for one hundred years. Dom Fernando, with twelve others, was given as a hostage "por salvar o povo miserando". As the home government refused to give up the African Gibraltar, Prince Fernando, "o sancto irmao Fernando", died in captivity at Fez, June 5, 1443, "Só por amor da patria está passando" (*Lusiads*, IV. 52).

In spite of the vote of Cortes in 1438, it is alleged that the crown of Portugal offered Ceuta in exchange for the Infant in May, 1439. King Edward had died September 9, 1438, leaving instructions that the ransom of Dom Fernando was to be secured by this sacrifice, if otherwise impossible. But Henrique had pronounced decidedly against this course, and it was evident that the nation would not have permitted it. See João Alvares, *Chronica dos Feytos, Vida, e Morto de Dom Fernando*, emendada por Fr. Jeronymo de Remos; the *Diccionario Bibliographico* of Innocencio Francisco da Silva (under "J. Alvares" and "J. de Remos"); Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de D. Duarte*, chs. XXI., XLIV.; A. C. de Sousa, *Provas d. Historia Genealogica d. Casa Real Portuguesa*, I. 533, etc.; and R. H. Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator* (1868), pp. 161-167.

⁷ The bull *Rex regum* Eugenius IV., issued from Bologna, September 8, 1436 (Coll. de Bullas, maço 4, no. 9; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 5), is only a repetition, with the necessary changes, of Martin V.'s *Sane charissimus*, issued from Constance, April 4, 1418, and addressed to patriarchs, bishops, and all prelates and professors of the Christian faith, calling upon them to aid John I. of Portugal, "filius noster Joannes Portugalliae Rex illustris", in his war against the Moors. See *Bullarium*, I. 9-10; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, A. D. 1418, §§ 21-23.

world is undoubtedly made at the instance of the Portuguese crown and of Dom Henrique, and is prompted by the Infant's first successes in African conquest and in the coasting of the Dark Continent. It clearly marks the general, European, extra-national character of the undertaking organized and led by Prince Henry, both in Morocco and along the shores of "Guinea"; while at the same time it assures full satisfaction to natural and national ambitions by its declaration that all lands conquered by the kings of Portugal in this adventure should be subject to their crown.

Again, after the triumphs of 1441 and 1442, when the first natives and gold dust had been brought to Europe from the Sahara coast, Prince Henry appeals directly to the whole body of Christian sovereigns for aid in this "discovery and conquest". Nor is this appeal one of mere sentiment. In return for co-operation, Dom Henrique offers to divide his profits with his allies;⁸ neither in the fifteenth nor in the twelfth century are plans of crusade always destitute of a business understanding. But the common action once found attainable is so no longer; the Portuguese offers are everywhere declined; Portugal as a nation must carry on its crusade alone, though volunteers from other countries might flock to its standards. It is now, therefore, that the prince sends his embassy to the Holy See under Lopes d'Azevedo and obtains from the same Eugenius IV. the celebrated bull of December, 1442, granting plenary absolution to all those engaged in the war against the Moors to which the Order of Christ stood committed and to which "our

⁸ See Duarte Pacheco Pereira in *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, written in 1505, forty-five years after Prince Henry's death, when his work had been carried to its conclusion and the Portuguese crusade had reached the Indies. "While the Infant was lying one night in his sleeping chamber, it came to him in revelation how he should do much service to our Lord in discovering the Ethiopias of Guinea, in which region there would be found such a multitude of new peoples and black men as from the time of this discovery we have known, whose color and fashion and mode of life no one could believe, if he had not seen them. . . . The which navigation the Infant began for the service of God from Cape Nam, and as soon as from these realms were brought the first negroes, the Infant wrote to all Christian kings that they should aid this discovery and conquest ["ajudasem a este descobrimento e conquista"] for the service of our Lord, and should equally share all the profit ["e todo o proveyto igualmente o lograssem"], which they would not do ["o que elles nam quiseram fazer"]. After which the Infant sent Fernam Lopez d'Azevedo to Eugenius IV. . . . and obtained the grant from him . . . and other Holy Fathers, of the conquest and commerce of these regions to the end of all India, because by God has been shown to the Infant this marvellous mystery, hidden from all other generations of Christendom." *Esmeraldo*, bk. 1., ch. xxii., in Lisbon Geographical Society's *Boletim*, January, 1904, pp. 19-22. See also Raphael Basto's edition of *Esmeraldo*, p. 37.

beloved son and noble baron Henry", duke of Viseu, and governor of the said order, designed to go in person with his men at arms.⁹

The same note of crusade is repeatedly struck by the pontiffs of the next decades, all contemporaries of the Infant. Thus Nicholas V., in 1452, by the bull *Dum diversas*,¹⁰ authorizes the King of Portugal to make war upon the infidels, to conquer their lands, and to enslave their persons; eighteen months later the same pope expressly forbids any Christians to lend aid to the unbelievers in the lands discovered or subdued by the labors of the Infant Henry.¹¹ Calixtus III., in 1456, takes measures, by the bull *Etsi cuncti*, to defend Ceuta as a crusading stronghold, directing houses of all the four military orders of Portugal to be established in the city, and binding these fraternities, under the severest penalties, to serve here with one-third of their whole force, turn by turn, every year;¹² while a few weeks later, by another bull, he confers the spiritual jurisdiction of all the lands from Cape Nun to India upon the Order of Christ.¹³ At the very end of Prince Henry's life we see the great scholar, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, now Pope Pius II., commending the Portuguese crusade in Africa, just marked by the capture of Alcacer the Less.¹⁴ And finally, in 1481, Sixtus IV., while confirming the bulls of Nicholas and Calixtus already noticed, repeats the summary of Dom Henrique's work which Nicholas had given in 1454, which Calixtus had reproduced in 1456, and which shows how clearly both the crusading and exploring aspects of the Portuguese movement are appreciated by the supreme tribunal of

⁹ This bull of Eugenius IV. (*Illius qui se*), issued from Florence, December 19, 1442, is abridged in Portuguese by Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xv., pp. 90-92. The complete original may be found in the *Bullarium*, I. 21.

¹⁰ Issued from Rome, June 18, 1452; Coll. de Bullas, maço 29, no. 6; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 14; full text in *Bullarium*, I. 22-23. Santarem, *Prioridade*, p. 26, and note 1 to Azurara, *Guinea*, p. 92, also quotes a bull of Nicholas V., January 8, 1450, conceding to Affonso V. all the conquests which Dom Henrique had discovered (Archivo Real d. T. d. Tombo, maço 32 de bullas, no. 10).

¹¹ *Romanus Pontifex, regni caelestis claviger*, issued from Rome, January 8, 1454; Coll. de Bullas, maço 7, no. 29; full text in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 14-20, and in *Bullarium*, pp. 31-34. This bull gives a valuable sketch of Prince Henry's work, its motives and results, which is copied by Calixtus III. in 1456, and by Sixtus IV. in 1481. See note 16, below.

¹² Issued from Rome, February 16, 1456; Gaveta 7^a, maço 7, no. 23; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 20.

¹³ *Inter caetera*, issued from Rome, March 13, 1456; Mestrados, f. 165, and Gaveta 7^a, maço 13, no. 7; full text in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 20-22, and in *Bullarium*, pp. 36-37. This quotes the bull of Nicholas V. of January 8, 1454, and confirms it.

¹⁴ Bull *Nuper pro parte*, issued from Mantua, October 13, 1459, Coll. de Bullas, maço 27; text in *Bullarium*, p. 38; the same subject-matter is summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 25-26, as an abstract of a bull *Intenta salutis*.

Latin Christendom both before and after the prince's death. For it was, in the view of all these pontiffs, with the purpose of joining hands and forming alliance against the Saracens with the Indians who were said to worship Christ¹⁵ that Henry had explored so untiringly and so victoriously the seas of the South and East, towards the Antarctic Pole.¹⁶ Such a crusade as Nicholas and Sixtus here suggest—a crusade as real as any of the eleventh or twelfth centuries—was deliberately undertaken and obstinately maintained by the Portuguese of the sixteenth century, when they at last had broken into the long closed Muslim seas of East Africa and the Indies.

The crusading side of Prince Henry's movements is no less clearly emphasized by those chief contemporary writers¹⁷ from whom

¹⁵ This should refer either to the Christians of Abyssinia and other East African regions (Socotra, Nubia), or to those of India proper, with whom the Roman missionaries had come in contact or whom they had won over during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Among other results of the overland expansion of Latin Christianity between 1220 and 1350, communities of Roman converts were formed in the neighborhood of Madras, of Bombay, and of Kulam or Quilon in Malabar. The papal archives contained and contain various reports of, and references to, these Roman colonies, and this fact may well be at the root of the passages here noticed. See *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 215-235.

¹⁶ This bull, *Eterni regis clementia*, was issued from Rome, June 21, 1481; Coll. de Bullas, maço 29, no. 6; full text in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 47-55, and in *Bullarium*, pp. 47-52. On this bull, and especially its early Portuguese translation, by Vasco Fernandez, of John II.'s council, see Souza Holstein, *A Escola de Sagres*, p. 75.

¹⁷ Especially by Azurara, in the *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné*, which, here as elsewhere, is to a great extent a reproduction of the lost narrative of Dom Henrique's sailor-chronicler, Affonso Cerveira, the *Historia da Conquista dos Portuguezes pela Costa d'Africa* (see R. H. Major, *Henry the Navigator*, p. x, edition of 1868). A copy either of Cerveira's original or of Azurara's redaction seems to have been given by Prince Henry himself to one of the kings of Naples (Alfonso I.[?], 1442-1458, or Ferdinand I.[?], 1458-1494; see Fr. Luis de Souza, *Historia de S. Domingos*, P. I., bk. vi., ch. xv., p. 629, edition of 1767; Santarem, *Quadro Elementar*, I. 358; R. H. Major, *Henry the Navigator*, p. xii, edition of 1868). Azurara's *Guinea Chronicle* officially ends with the year 1448, and the author tells us in ch. xcvi. (the final postscript) that he finished the writing of it on February 18, 1453. But it appears to contain some additions made after Dom Henrique's death in 1460. For centuries it disappeared. Thus even Damião de Goes, 1501-1573, was never able to meet with it (*Chronica do Príncipe D. João*, ch. vi.). The only complete manuscript now known, that in the National Library at Paris (MSS. Portugais, no. 41), was rediscovered by Ferdinand Denis in 1837 and re-edited by Carreira and Santarem in 1841 ("dada pela primeira vez a luz per diligencia do Visconde de Carreira, Enviado Extraordinario . . . de S. Magestade Fidelissima na corte da França; precedida de uma Introducção, e illustrada com . . . Notas, pelo Visconde de Santarem"). All references are to the chapters and pages as they appear in this edition. The *Chronicle of Ceuta* (*Chronica del Rei D. Joam I. . . Terceira Parte em que se contem a Tomada de Ceuta*), begun in the autumn of 1449 and finished on March 25, 1450, has also much to say about Prince Henry's crusading

one must necessarily draw most of the material for any appreciation of the Infant's character and undertakings. Thus they are careful to record how Dom Henrique, taking so much pleasure in the labor of war, especially against the enemies of the Faith,¹⁸ was moved to command the search for the lands of Guinea, among other reasons, by the natural desire of a wise man to find out the strength of his enemy.¹⁹ During all the years that he had waged his cruel war²⁰ against the Muslims of Africa and of Granada (ever challenging and hurling defiance at the Moors, as his Venetian servant puts it), he had sought in vain for the Christian friends and helpers of whom the pontiffs speak—for the "one Christian King", the "one lord outside this land", who for the love of Christ would aid him in this war.²¹ Yet to find such an ally remained the object of his unwearied search, and in the half-true tale of Prester John, the priest-king cut off by a waste of heathendom from the main body of the Faithful, but staunchly upholding the faith of the Cross in the depths of the East, he gained an inspiration. He rejoiced at news of fresh discoveries in 1441 which seemed to bring him nearer "to the Indies and to the land of Prester John".²² Since the early fourteenth century, the tradition which at first referred only to a Tartar chieftain (apparently in the neighborhood of Lake Baikal) is gradually transferred to the Negush of Abyssinia, and it is probably this potentate, however vaguely understood, whom Dom Henrique seeks under the name of "Preste João". And, failing the Prester, he catches eagerly at any tale of a Christian prince in Guinea. Thus in 1446 he sends an expedition to Cape Verde, having heard

activity. The material for this narrative was mainly supplied to Azurara by Dom Pedro, "the great regent", and by Dom Henrique himself. With the latter the historian stayed some days, by express order of King Affonso V.; "he knew more about the affair than anybody in Portugal" (*Ceuta Chronicle*, ch. XII.). We know that Azurara makes Henrique the leading figure in the storming of "a forte Ceita". "The same circumstance is noticeable in the *Chronica de D. Duarte*, begun by Azurara, and finished by Ruy de Pina." See Mr. Prestage's introduction in the English edition of Azurara's *Guinea* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1896), vol. I., pp. viii, liv-lv.

¹⁸ "Specialmente contra os inimigos da santa fe". Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. iv., p. 24.

¹⁹ "Porque todo sesudo, per natural prudencia, he costringido a querer saber o poder de seu imiigo". *Ibid.*, ch. vii., p. 46.

²⁰ "Mortos per tua lança, pella guerra muy cruel, que lhe sempre fezeste". *Ibid.*, ch. ii., p. 15.

²¹ "Nunca achou rey christiaão, nem senhor de fora desta terra, que por amor de . . . Jhũ Xpõ o quysesse aa dicta guerra ajudar". Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. vii., p. 47.

²² "Nom soamente daquella terra [Sahara and Sudan] desejava daver sabedorya, mas ainda das Indyas, e da terra de preste Joham". *Ibid.*, ch. xvi., p. 94.

that the king of that land was a Christian, inviting this potentate, "if he truly held the law of Christ", to aid in the war against the Moors, in which "the King of Portugal and the Infant were continually toiling".²³

In the earlier Portuguese expeditions along the African mainland, and especially from 1435 to 1445, the crusading spirit is constantly, not to say brutally, prominent. The pioneers of this time ("the Christians", in the clear and simple language of the *Chronicle of Guinea*), "sent out to do service to God and to the Infant", sailing under the banners of the Order of Christ and mindful how the governor of that order "toiled every day more and more in the war against the Moors", not only raid the "tawny Saracens" of the Sahara to obtain guides and interpreters for future progress, but fight, kill, burn, sack, capture, and destroy, with all the zeal of a holy war.²⁴ Thus "our Lord God, Who giveth a reward for every good, willed that for the toil they had undergone in His service they should obtain victory over their enemies", says Azurara of the earliest successful slave-hunting in the Bight of Arguim.²⁵ When the battle was over, all praised God for such a victory, "for that he had deigned to give such help to a handful of His Christian people";²⁶ "He from Whom cometh down every good thing" was pleased that the Christians should at last have complete victory over their enemies,²⁷ the historian records in other places. "God knoweth our wills in His Holy service", one of the Infant's captains tells his men, in this same Bight of Arguim, as they approach a shore lined with hostile natives; "should we not do battle with these Moors, we should make them full of courage against all others of our Law."²⁸ The men of Portugal, who kept their armed cruisers in

²³ "Porque lhe afirmavam que era xpaão". Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xciv., p. 442.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. xxi., p. 121: "os xpaãos"; ch. xix., p. 107: "partidos de nossa terra afym de fazermos serviço a Deos, e ao Iffante nosso senhor"; ch. xxiv., p. 130: "por serviço de Deos e vosso"; ch. xviii., p. 106: "bandeiras com a cruz da ordem de Jhũ Xpõ, das quaaes mandou que levasse cada hũa caravella sua"; ch. xxxvii., p. 185: "postas as bandeiras da Ordem de Xpõ em seus navyos"; ch. xlix., p. 230: "trabalhaaes cada huũ dya mais na guerra destes Mouros"; the same claim is made, in the same speech, for the men of Lagos: "sempre serviram e servem com seus corpos e navyos na guerra dos Mouros", p. 229.

²⁵ Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xix., p. 111.

²⁶ "Sua pouca gente xpaã". *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁷ "Aquelle do que Santyago disse, que decendya todo bem . . . ouvesse com-prida vitorya". *Ibid.*, ch. xxiii., pp. 127-128.

²⁸ "Deos . . . sabe nossas voontades acerca do seu santo serviço . . . faremos corações contra quaaesquer outros de nossa ley". *Ibid.*, ch. xlv., p. 215.

Gibraltar Strait and Mediterranean waters,²⁹ were they to fear fight with the Moorish knaves of Arguim?

And for those who fell in this crusade, whose bodies, as we read after one disaster, "remained among the thickness of the trees, while their souls departed to behold the things of the other world",³⁰ the blessed future of the sanctified is confidently invoked. "Dying in the service of God and of their Lord, their death was happy"; "blessed are the dead that die in the Lord"; "may God receive their souls in the habitation of the Saints"; "may He take to Himself the nature that came forth from Him, for it is His very own."³¹ And so the chronicler will not lament too bitterly the fate of one of the chief exploring leaders, the brilliant Nuno Tristam, laid low by poisoned arrows, lest he should seem to covet the honor of one "whom God had pleased to make a sharer in His immortality".³² Had not the papacy, five hundred years before, proclaimed officially that all those Christians who died fighting in the Church's cause, were, without further question, assured of salvation?³³

And if the eternal welfare of crusaders was a certainty, the converse was equally true. Azurara is moved half to compassion, half to contempt, by the folly of the Moors, so blindly attached to their delusions as actually to fight against their real benefactors, but destined in a very brief space of time to learn the error of their sect in the life beyond the grave to which the Christians would dispatch them.³⁴

The Portuguese seamen, at times, in the fervor of the Sacred

²⁹ "Trazem navyos armados no estreito de Cepta, e . . . per todo o mar de Levante". *Ibid.*, ch. XLV., p. 216.

³⁰ "Ally fycarom os corpos daquelles mortos antre a espessura daquellas arvores, e as almas forom veer as cousas do outro mundo". *Ibid.*, ch. LXXXVIII., p. 416.

³¹ Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xxxvi., pp. 404-405: "*Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur* . . . pois em serviço de Deos e de seu senhor morrerom, bem aventurada he a sua morte"; ch. XLVIII., p. 226: "cujas almas Deos . . . receba no lugar dos sanctos"; ch. XXVII., p. 145: "*habeat Deus animam quam creavit et naturam quod suum est.*"

³² "Que a deos prouve fazer participador da sua inmortalidade". *Ibid.*, ch. LXXXVI., p. 399.

³³ On this declaration of Pope John VIII., ca. 880, see *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 117-118.

³⁴ "Em breve conhecerom o erro de sua seyta". Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. LXIV., p. 311. Another stroke of crusading humor is in ch. LXV., p. 316, where some Moors, unconscious of the Portuguese ambush, start on a journey, "not knowing how long it was to be" ["trabalhavam de partyr, mas nom cuidavam que pera tam longe"]—to another world. "Oo e se assy fora que em aquestes que fogyam ouvera huũ pequeno de conhecimento das cousas mais altas; . . . aquella . . . triganca que levavam fogindo, trouxeram por se viir pera onde salvassem suas almas." *Ibid.*, ch. LXV., p. 318.

War, take into their mouths the very language of the Chosen People, and, thirsting for a fresh encounter with the Muslim, call upon Almighty aid for that flood-tide which nature was delaying. If God, they cried, had once made clear the way for the children of Israel through the Red Sea and had turned back the sun at the prayer of Joshua, could he not show as great a favor to his Christian people,³⁵ and make the waters of Arguim Bay to rise before their time?

Surely it is Prince Henry the Crusader, as much as Prince Henry the Navigator, who enlists the services of such foreigners as the Scandinavian "Vallarte", his ambassador to the supposititious Christian monarch near Cape Verde; it is to a crusading hero that the Pope and the Emperor and the kings of Castile and of England must have offered, as the *Guinea Chronicle* declares, the captaincy of their armies, or a high command in the same.³⁶

The leaders of progress are never without their own teachers and precursors, and Dom Henrique, in leading a Catholic attack against the Muhammadan powers of Northwest Africa, is to some extent a follower of St. Louis and of Raymond Lull. The French king, to whom Prince Henry in his will professes a peculiar and lifelong devotion,³⁷ had attacked Tunis in 1271 on the Seventh Crusade, not merely in imitation of Italian republics at war with Barbary, but also with the hope of beginning the overthrow of Islam and the deliverance of the Holy Land from this most assailable quarter, lying nearest of Muhammadan lands to the main body of Catholic Europe. In pursuit of the same policy, a few years later, the great Catalan schoolman had recommended a steady eastward movement against the Mussulman world, commencing with Granada, crossing the Straits to Marocco, Algeria, and Tunis, and thence proceeding along the south Mediterranean shore-lands to encounter the central Muslim power in Egypt.³⁸

All Spanish Christians shared the fear of yet another such revival of Islamic power in Spain (still surviving in the Granada kingdom) as had been effected by African invasion in the eleventh and twelfth, as had been defeated in the thirteenth and fourteenth, centuries. A successful crusade in Maroccan and Saharan lands would render such a movement almost impossible in the future, would

³⁵ "Esta tua gente". *Ibid.*, ch. LV., p. 253.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. XCIV., pp. 441-449; ch. VI., p. 40.

³⁷ "Meu sñor São Luis a que des minha nacença fui encomẽdado". See the text of the will as printed in vol. I., p. 331, of *Arquivo dos Açores*; and in Souza Holstein, *A Escola de Sagres*, p. 81.

³⁸ Cf. *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III. 311.

completely isolate the Granada Mussulmans from the rest of Islam, and would prepare the way for the final recovery of all Andalus. In the earlier stages of his enterprise Prince Henry perhaps considered the war in Morocco and the conquest of "Guinea" to be merely two sides of the same enterprise—both essential to establishing that Christian dominion in Northwest Africa which would give to the Catholic world a decisive advantage over its rival. The gradual realization of the southerly prolongation of the continent showed the inadequacy of earlier conceptions; Guinea proved to be more than an appendage to Morocco; and an effective Portuguese occupation of the West African interior turned out to be a dream.

Yet, when the Infant died, and for more than a decade afterwards (till 1471), the crusade in Morocco was still prosecuted with as much vigor as if this dream were a reality, and we meet with fresh examples of a type of papal document with which we are already familiar, ordering the erection of cathedrals in the newly conquered cities, such as Alcacer or Tangier, and laying upon the military orders of Portugal the duty of guarding such new conquests under pain of forfeiting their whole position in the hierarchy.³⁹

With King John II. (1481-1495) the exploring movement itself—as if conscious of its nearer approach to another Muslim world on the other side of Africa—seems to resume something of its crusading pretensions, its warlike armor. Hopes of finding Prester John and attaining great things by his alliance are hotly revived in 1486, on the eve of the discovery of the Cape, by d'Aveiro's report of one King Ogane, a Christian at heart, ultimately reduced to the more modest dimensions of an ordinary heathen negro, somewhere in the hinterland of the Bight of Benin. At the same time attempts are made to revive the Morocco enterprise as a Catholic crusade under Portuguese leadership. Thus, in this same momentous year of 1486, the papacy appeals afresh to all faithful Christians to aid King John with their persons, their substitutes, or their moneys, in those African conquests which so truly constituted a crusade, but for which his own revenues did not suffice.⁴⁰

³⁹ See the bulls of Pius II., April 23, 1462 (*Etsi cuncti*, in Coll. de Bullas, maço 27; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 30-31), and of Sixtus IV., August 21, 1472 (*Clara devotionis*, in Coll. de Bullas, maço 35, no. 26; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 36).

⁴⁰ See the bull *Orthodoxae fidei* of Innocent VIII., issued from Rome, February 18, 1486, and appealing to all Christians, and especially to the Portuguese. Coll. de Bullas, maço 26, no. 16; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 57.

Is it necessary to recall how high burned the fires of crusading passion, heroism, and cruelty in that memorable struggle of Christian Portugal against Southern Islam which raged in East African and Indian seas and coasts through the last years of Columbus's life, and so long after? At any rate, we must not forget how fully, here as elsewhere, the Portuguese movement of the fifteenth century anticipates the Admiral. To him the idea of crusade is part of his very life. Not only is it his constant purpose to establish the military supremacy of the Catholic faith in those new lands of his we call America, but the dream of the recovery of the holy places of Syria was no dream to him. When he started to discover the Indies, as his will tells us, he designed that all revenue accruing to the Spanish sovereigns through his discoveries should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem; when he made this testament (on February 22, 1498) they had as yet done nothing; Columbus still hoped for better things; but, in the last resort, if Castile and Aragon were still deaf to the cause of the Holy City, then he lays it upon his heir to perform this conquest, alone if need be, all if it might be, and if not all, then whatever part he could.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.